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ment. It is as strong and abiding as human progress itself, and nothing can check it except temporarily. It is entirely probable that the war, in its reaction upon the minds of the people in civilized countries, will actually hasten the progress of the movement. The regret over the conflict is so deep and widespread that thoughtful, humane men everywhere will be anxious to see the permanent system of arbitration so strengthened and extended as to make any such calamity practically impossible hereafter. We may hope at least that this compensation will be allowed us.

Peace Societies or Long-Range Rifles.

The *Chicago Chronicle* of February 5th, commenting on an address on international arbitration given by the Secretary of the American Peace Society before the Twentieth Century Club of that city, said:

"We are at present on the eve of permanent international peace," said Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society of Boston, in a recent address before the Twentieth Century club of this city.

True enough, but why? Dr. Trueblood bases this millennial hope on the progressive civilization of human nature, which, he thinks, has been greatly hastened, if not originated, by such organizations as the American Peace Society and the various international peace congresses and especially the Hague Conference. The next step he hopes for is a new conference like that of The Hague which will deal with a plan for universal disarmament.

The truth is, the world is much nearer to permanent international peace than Dr. Trueblood supposes, but from a widely different cause. The pacification of the world will be accomplished not by means of the peace societies, but in a sense in spite of them; that is, it will come not by humanizing warfare, but by making it more terrible. The peace societies are taking to themselves the credit of changes for the better which are wholly attributable to the increasing destructiveness of the arms and engines of modern warfare.

From the time when armies fought hand to hand with broadswords down to the present, when they fight at a distance of a mile or two with long-range rifles, there has been a constant decrease in the fatalities of war and a constant progress in peace sentiments. It is on this principle that war is to cease and that it has already nearly ceased. Peace societies, so far as they have decreased the destructiveness of warfare, have postponed the advent of universal peace.

As battles are won not by killing all nor even one-tenth of the enemy, but by killing and wounding enough to scare away the rest, there is evidently a degree of danger conceivable which no army will dare to face. At the precise moment when the implements of war produce that degree of danger war will cease and men will become as peaceable as lambs. Moreover, that moment is not far away.

It is a great comfort to know that the *Chronicle*, which we take to be serious, believes that the era of permanent international peace is near, much nearer

than the special peace-workers suppose. It is not often that the critics of the peace societies concede as much as this. They assert usually that the advocates of peace are sorry dreamers, childish rainbow-chasers, wasting their time and what little brains they have in vain, trying to accomplish an impossible task. War, they say, is a part of the fixed order of the world, a great instrument of righteousness, necessary to give man strength and the heroic virtues, and that it will endure as long as human society lasts.

But the knowing *Chronicle* changes the tack and comes at the peacemakers from another angle. It grants that they are good prophets. The evidences of the early coming of permanent peace are so strong that it cheerfully confesses that the purpose for which the peace societies, congresses and conferences have so long worked is soon to be realized. But, in spite of this concession, it considers these societies as worthless as their usual critics do. They are to have none of the credit. They have even been in the way. They have used the wrong means. The moral forces on which they have relied have been worthless. The ideas which they have put forward and upheld — the brotherhood of men, international justice, truthfulness and fairness, love and coöperation, the settlement of disputes by appeal to reason and common-sense — have gone for nothing. Instead of dealing in these vagaries they ought, according to this new prophet of peace, to have been promoting the development of farther-shooting rifles and deadlier explosives and bigger and heavier war debts. The world is to march into the city of universal peace with every man at the butt of a long-range rifle or astride a monster Long Tom, so that all the devils of strife and war will be scared out of their wits and made to flee and leap off the planet. It is a great hope which the *Chronicle* sets before us! But the Chicago prophet does not tell us how the state of permanent peace is to be maintained after these increasingly deadly weapons have once established it. In that wondrous era will men be kept "as peaceable as lambs" by the multiplication of still more terrible and expensive engines of warfare? The logic of the *Chronicle's* philosophy would seem to require this.

But the *Chronicle* is for once innocent of history. It fails to remember that when gunpowder was first made it was generally prophesied that that would put an end shortly to war. Men would not stand up and fight when they could not see what was fired at them. They would all get scared and run away. But they did n't. They continued to fight. When torpedoes — the *Chronicle* again forgets — were first introduced into Europe, under the name of "American Turtles," they were cursed by the bishops as perfectly diabolical. They would put an end, in short order, to war with all its splendor and displays of heroism, so the prophecy ran. Men would not stand the risk of being blown wholesale into invisibility.

They would all be scared away. But they were not. They still marched up and fought.

Ever since smokeless powder was invented, the same prophecy of the speedy end of war, on the same grounds, has again and again been made. But there are more men in the armies to-day than ever before, and they are ready to march to death in face of the long-range rifles and the monster cannon as readily as men went to meet their foes who were armed only with bows and spears. Nearly fifty years ago a distinguished Frenchman, speaking à la *Chronicle*, declared bravely that war was about to die from an "indigestion of cannon." But war has continued to swallow cannon ever since with ever-increasing rapidity, and there is no evidence that the heavy diet has yet produced any "heart-burn."

The *Chronicle* will have to try again. History is all against it. The decline of war has been produced by the growth and development of the new humanitarian thoughts and feelings increasingly prevailing in our modern society, of which the peace societies and congresses, if not the producers, have been among the foremost spokesmen; not by the fear of death inspired by the new instruments of destruction. When men are trained to war and the war-spirit is on them, considerations of death have no weight with them, as every great modern conflict proves. They will march to destruction against the new weapons as against the old. They devise, to be sure, new methods of fighting and new ways of protecting themselves against the new engines, but they do not run away from fear.

The increasing destructiveness of the arms and engines of modern warfare is hastening the cause of peace, we do not deny. But it is in an entirely different way from that indicated by the *Chronicle*. This increasing destructiveness renders manifest in more striking ways the essential inhumanity and irrationality of war, and this is making peoples and responsible statesmen alike in civilized countries increasingly anxious to get rid of the whole horrible and barbarous business. But it is, even here, the new humane sentiments of the peoples and rulers that constitute the real motive. They are more and more unwilling to see men uselessly slaughtered *en masse* on the battlefield, however ready the latter may be to face swift, wholesale death in obedience to false ideas of patriotism and of duty. They see now at last the reasonableness and desirableness of the means and methods so long advocated by the friends of peace — means and methods which, after a century of successful testing in numerous instances of settlement, have proved themselves worthy of universal application.

Under these circumstances, therefore, when the heads of state and responsible statesmen are rapidly adopting the principles of the peace societies, these

societies will be pardoned by the *Chronicle* if they do not accept its advice, and abandon the field to the big cannon and the long-range rifles.

Editorial Notes.

The Committee of twelve, appointed at the conference of representatives of the peace societies held in Washington, January 13, to have charge of the organization of the coming Peace Congress, met in New York, at the rooms of the National Arts Club, on February 13th. Eight of the twelve members were present, namely, Walter S. Logan, Hon. George F. Seward, Judge William N. Ashman, Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Thomas representing Dr. Richard H. Thomas, and Benjamin F. Trueblood. The absent members were Edwin Burritt Smith and Graham Taylor of Chicago, Philip C. Garrett of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey of Winthrop Centre, Maine. The Committee organized by appointing Edwin D. Mead chairman, and Benjamin F. Trueblood secretary. After an extended discussion of the matter of the time and place of holding the Congress, it was unanimously voted that it be held in Boston the first week in October. It was also unanimously voted that Hon. Robert Treat Paine of Boston be recommended for president of the Congress, and that Hon. Andrew D. White, Hon. George F. Edmunds, Andrew Carnegie, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, President David Starr Jordan, Edwin Ginn and Albert K. Smiley, be chosen as vice-presidents. It was also voted unanimously that Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge and Miss Grace H. Dodge of New York and Hon. Oscar S. Straus be made members of the General Committee of the Congress. The details of the program of the Congress and the other preparations were put into the hands of the chairman and secretary, who shall report from time to time to the General Executive Committee. It was decided by the Committee that, in addition to the meetings of the Congress proper, supplementary meetings should be held in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and other cities as the funds raised will warrant, provided sufficient local interest can be awakened to justify such meetings. It is proposed by the Committee to raise a large fund for the expenses of the Congress and these other meetings so as to make the occasion as widely influential as possible. Six thousand dollars has already been pledged. It is hoped that in this way the Congress may be made the largest and most influential ever held. The Committee will have the coöperation of the Peace Bureau at Berne in preparing for the Congress.